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of the moiety system automatically forbids a man to have sex relations with his mother, sisters, grandmother, mother's sister, parallel cousins, all of whom belong to his moiety. His daughter, who is of a different moiety, is also made taboo to him, although there is no ritual surrounding the prohibition. The making of the female cross-cousin, (term 14) of his own generation and of a different moiety taboo to him completes the elimination of sexual interest towards those women with whom a man mingles in his workaday life. On the other hand, the selection of two people, the daughters of cross-cousins (see term 11), as preferred mates, gives sexual interest a specific place. Sex interest is thus theoretically localized and centred instead of being diffused. This might make for an efficiency in work, since it is difficult to mingle numerous erotic interests which are obsessive and distractive with practical affairs, such as the gardening and fishing of everyday life. However, the fact that these incest taboos are occasionally broken shows that desires cannot always be held in check by a kinship system and its rules. But speaking broadly, the system works.

The extension of the family relationships into the broader circles of clan and moiety forms this kinship system, the axis about which the social life of the individual revolves. To some relatives he will have economic responsibilities; to some he will be affectionate, while to others he may not talk; some women are forbidden to him, while others are potential mates. And so his life moves through the pattern spun by the kinship system.

SEX

The two major groupings based on locality and kinship have been described. There remains the third manner in which the society is divided, on lines of sex. In much of

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the social life of the community the men function as units apart from the women. One outward manifestation of masculine solidarity is the men's house, their club-house, which the women may not enter. Most of the feasts are also purely masculine affairs. The dances, too, maintain the social division of the sexes. For months before a rite the women will rehearse every night at one end of the village, while the men practise their dance at the other end. On the day of the ritual event the same sex distinction is maintained in the dancing. (This rule is broken on a few occasions.) In the general social life of the community, whether that be the hamlet or village, it is the women who meet to cook, to gossip, and to dance, while the men come together to fish, to eat, to talk, to dance, and also to gossip. In the family life, except in the case of taboo relatives, the sexes mingle freely in their social intercourse. But in the social life of the community the two keep quite apart.

Thus, an individual born into this society becomes automatically a member of various groups. His sex will determine one group; he will inherit his clan and moiety from his mother; his place of residence (house, hamlet, and village) will depend upon where his parents live. This grouping will influence him for the rest of his life.

While the infant is a member of all these groups at birth, they do not all begin to function at the same time. At birth, certain close relatives surround him, and it is from these that he obtains the first impressions of the world. Gradually this group is enlarged until it includes his whole immediate family, then the clan, and finally the moiety. In the same way, as he grows older, he becomes aware of a community larger than his household. When he can crawl about, the hamlet becomes his playground, and later, as a child, he roams through the village. As an adult he will go to near-by villages for ritual events, particularly those in which members of his own clan are concerned. But he

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will not, as a rule, wander far away, to a distant village where another language is spoken, unless he goes on business for the white man. His entrance into his own sex group will come gradually. The life of a very young male infant does not differ from that of a female.

The elements of the social organization have been briefly described. But this social structure does not exist in a vacuum, but only through the individuals living in it. Any functional study will show the individual actually living in the particular configuration known as his society. Since this configuration is plastic, every individual does not receive quite the same impress from it. There are variations, and it is these which must be noted in a truly functional study. An analysis which does not take into account the elasticity of the configuration cannot be said to approach reality.

In the succeeding chapters an attempt is made to portray the Lesu people as they are living to-day. Each member of the village will not react to his cultural environment in exactly the same manner as his neighbour does, and the pattern of behaviour will not always be logical or consistent.

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The stones are put in a heap and saved for the next cooking-time.

After the taro is all in the *liga*, the women sweep the ground on which they have been sitting, throwing all the debris into the sea. When the place is spick and span, they sit down and a leisurely sociable time begins for them. In the meantime a few loose taro are being baked separately in little fires. When baked these are again scraped, beaten with a stick, washed in the sea, and left there for about half an hour. The women munch them as they sit and chat while the big bundles are in the *liga*. They are relaxed, and there is lightness and ease as they casually exchange the latest gossip, tell a joke, or chat about the doings of their children. On one such occasion much merriment was caused by Maianbaum playfully stealing a pawpaw from Kuta. The two women laughingly pretended to fight over it, and Maianbaum succeeded in retaining the fruit. Then she forced Kuta to take some of it from her. All the women laughed heartily as they looked on.

The communal cooking, whether it is by the women of a hamlet or of two villages, is a distinctly sociable occasion. It is the get-together time for the women. In the gardens they work alone, or with one or two members of their immediate family. Their meals are held with the family. But when they cook, that is the time they meet the other women of the community, and when the preparations are finished, they have the opportunity to gossip, chat, and lightly amuse themselves. It might be compared to the old-fashioned quilting bee of our civilization, which was likewise a sociable occasion, except that the cooking is more frequent—almost every day.

There are several other ways of preparing taro, although the one described is the most common. Another kind is called *tsoki*. The skin of the taro is scraped off in the same manner as described above, then the scraped taro is grated

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and forty miles has provided a way of transportation which makes canoes unnecessary.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The work described in the preceding pages has been done both by individuals and by groups. The main occupations, gardening, fishing, cooking, and hunting, all require some form of co-operation. In the gardening it is the members of the immediate family, a man and his wife and children, who work together in the tilling of the ground. Each has his allotted task, the man the clearing of the ground, the woman the planting, etc. The group is enlarged when the man assists his wife's relatives in the clearing of the ground, or the woman works in her sister's garden, or a man calls on the men of the hamlet to help him build a fence. Fishing is also a communal occupation for the men, as is most of the cooking for the women. The size of the group will vary for both these occupations. In fishing it will depend upon the method used and the importance of the event for which the fish are being caught. In cooking, occasionally a mother and her daughter will prepare the evening meal alone, but more frequently it will be all the women of the hamlet, and if the preparations are for a big ritual feast all the women of the village and neighbouring villages will participate. House-building is also co-operative, male members of the family and hamlet helping each other. When the enclosure in which the boys are circumcised was built, all the men of the village helped and all the women cooked for the feast which followed. Members of the same clan help each other, particularly in the financing of the rites.

The organization of this work thus fits into the social structure of family, clan, hamlet, and village. Kinship and locality, two of the determining factors of the social structure, are equally important in setting the frame for the organiza-

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tion of work. The third determining factor, sex, acts in the same way, the sexual division of labour being most marked in its organization. The social organization thus provides the mechanism for the necessary co-operation, for it is kinship, locality, and sex which determine who participates in a given task.

The work is initiated to fulfil certain needs, such fundamental necessities as food and shelter being most important. Other needs not so strictly biological are those connected with ritual and social events, including the accumulation of food, the building of houses, and the making of carvings and masks.

The actual initiation of the work is by those who experience the need. In the communal or village work, connected with the *malanggan* and circumcision rites, it is the man or men who are making the *malanggans* for their dead relatives, and the clan relatives of the boys being circumcised, who initiate all the work connected with these rites. In a similar way it is the man whose house leaks, or whose garden fence needs to be rebuilt, who initiates the building, in which the members of his hamlet will cooperate.

The work is not without its stimuli. Work for one's self brings a reward in the fruits of labour: a catch of fish, a crop of taro, or a new house. Work for others receives payment. We have noted the feasts for the payment of workers on a new house or a garden fence. Women who have prepared food for a communal rite are given food in return. All services, magical and medical, are rewarded. Even those who dance at the mortuary rites and carry the corpse to the grave receive payment. Nothing is ever done for nothing in this community, and payment is one of the stimuli to work. Work by a large part of the male section of the village is aided by singing and festive decorations of the workers. In the building of the enclosure for the initiation of the boys the men's singing and their floral decorations were noted.

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Corresponding to these stimuli there is the sociability and camaraderie among the women who cook communally.

There is very little, almost no direction of work. The techniques are well known, and it is not necessary for anyone to give directions to scrape taro or thatch a roof. The work follows the traditional rules learned in childhood. A certain direction or organization occurs in fishing, when the man who sights the fish gives the call, but this could hardly be called bossing. This lack of leadership in communal undertakings is quite striking to the observer. One or two men act as masters of ceremonies and make the necessary speeches at these rites, as, for example, Sola and Buibui at the initiation rites at Ponatlege, but there was no one man or woman bossing the communal cooking preparations for these rites. They have been initiated by those most interested, and the work then follows along traditional lines. There is a similar lack of policing at the inter-village rites where hundreds of people are gathered together By some kind of mutual consent the crowd does not press unduly upon the clearing used as a stage, and are considerate of each other in their desire to see the rites. This holds for rites lasting several days and nights, when both onlookers and participants have had little sleep and are weary. I witnessed many such rites, and never did I see any pushing or quarrelling for advantageous places, such as marks similar crowds in our society.

The newly introduced Government work on the roads is in direct contrast with the native manner of working at their own occupations. All natives, male and female, are required to give three days a week to work on the road, mending the holes in it and keeping it in good condition. On these days the "Luluai," Government-appointed chief, blows his conch shell early in the morning to assemble the people. They come to the road in front of his house, the women standing or squatting (squatting on toes the usual position) in one group apart from the men.